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heads of subdivisions or families (as the informant actually called them). 613
The two family heads in each group are (1) Kamoto and Uhi, in Tongatabu; (2) Kofe and Afeaki, in Haapai; (3) Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli, in Vavau; (4) Sika and Kaufanga, in Niuatoputapu; (5) Masila and Haufano, in Niuafoou; (6) and Elili and Fakahenga in Uvea. Motuapuaka, of Tongatabu is regarded as the head of the entire *haa,* in spite of the fact that Kamoto and Uhi are said to be his superiors in rank. The ascendancy of Motuapuaka himself is attributed to the influence of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs. The relationship of the two heads in each group was not ascertained, nor was their relationship to Motuapuaka himself. The Motuapuaka who was living in 1921 was senile and useless as an informant.

The Haa Motuapuaka held the octopus (*fcke*) in reverence, as the incarnation of their god. All members of the Haa Motuapuaka trace their descent to Molofaha, a Samoan man. [825] [776]

The very widespread distribution of the Haa Motuapuaka is undoubtedly deliberate. Motuapuaka is one of the two chief ceremonial attendants of the Tui Kanokupolu. The heads of families in each island group function in Motuapuaka's place when the Tui Kanokupolu visits these groups and Motuapuaka himself is not in attendance. The questions suggest themselves as to whether these men are really of the same blood as Motuapuaka, and whether, in order to meet ceremonial requirements, individuals of other blood have not been arbitrarily assigned to the Haa Motuapuaka.

LINEAGES IN SPEECH PRELUDES

Before a speaker settles down to the matter which causes him to address an assemblage of chiefs he must enumerate the various great chiefs and lineages, saying, "Tapu to so-and-so, and tapu to so-and-so," etc. These personages are said to be mentioned in order of rank, but the recorded speeches do not altogether bear this out, or perhaps the relative rank of different chiefs has varied, just as the Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua have gone into total eclipse. In fact there are two great preludes (*fakataputapu*), one obsolete and connected with the Tui Tonga and his kava circle, the other connected with the Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu and his kava circle. The first is called the prelude of the Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), the second is called the prelude of the Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), as these two great royal houses are metaphorically called. Nowadays it is customary to mention the Deity first, then the King and great chiefs. After completing the enumeration the speaker says, "And allow me to speak." 195 537 576 622 643 643

Two examples of preludes for speeches at the Tui Tonga's kava circle were recorded. One has been published (15, p. 32), the other is given below. These differ considerably from one another, a fact open to two in- 195 537 574 643 576

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terpretations. Either there was considerable variation, or the recorders have erred, perhaps because of the non-use of, and lack of familiarity with, the Tui Tonga prelude. I have translated the word *hau* (literally, ruling prince) as Tui Kanokupolu in the following prelude. It applies also to the Tui Haa Takalaua.

1. Tapu moe Takafalu	Tapu to the Tui Tonga, literally Back of the Chief. [The back is mentioned because the king is too sacred to be named in person.]
2. Pea tapu moe Tui Faleua	And tapu to the Tui Pelehake.
3. Pea tapu mo Haa Takalaua	And tapu to the Tui Haa Takalaua [and presumably the chiefs of the lineage Haa Takalaua].
4. Pea tapu mo Haa Uluakimata	And tapu to the Tamaha [according to an informant] and presumably chiefs of the Haa Uluakimata.
5. Pea tapu moe Sinae eiki moe Sinae	And tapu to the Sinae of high rank and the other Sinae.
6. Pea tapu mo Fale Fisi	And tapu to the chiefs of the lineage Fale Fisi.
7. Pea tapu moe huhu Eiki	And tapu to the chiefs in general. [The informant Tapueluelu said *huhu Eiki* applied to the Tui Tonga. The word *huhu* means "the breasts" and "to suck," suggesting that women of high rank may be meant.]
8. Pea tapu mo Faoamanafa	And tapu to Faoamanafa. [One informant suggested that this referred to a chief Faoa of Hihifo district, Tongatabu, but this seems to me to be unlikely.]
9. Pea tapu moe alofi tapu	And tapu to the chiefs in the sacred kava circle.
10. Pea tapu moe toua tapu	And tapu to the chiefs sitting behind the kava bowl.
11. Pea tapu moe Vaeamatoka	And tapu to Vaeamatoka.
Kae ata keu lea	Allow me to speak.
Ma tafi tonga sahoeu	May the southern sky be clear.
Pea o ua e popo uli e alo ni	And ward off filthy rottenness from the sons of chiefs [?].

Three speech preludes for use in the kava circles of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu have been recorded. One has been published (15, p. 32). Although they differ in detail they are all alike in relegating the Tui Tonga to oblivion and his kin to subordinate rank in the list of chiefs. The published prelude mentions the Tui Haa Takalaua first, the Tui Kanokupolu (now the supreme ruler) third.

Only matapules use the full prelude. A high chief mentions only two or three chiefs and lineages and then asks the king's matapule, Maliepo and Molofaha, to finish for him. Then he goes on with his speech. This takes

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place at a kava ring, as kava drinking forms a part of all meetings of chiefs, no matter what the business.

According to the informant Tapueluelu there are certain chiefs who speak, certain who do not. Maatu, Fotofili, Vaea, Ata, Vahai, Ulukalala, Niukapu, and Nuku are chiefs who do not speak. Chiefs who speak are Tui Haa Teiho, Tui Haa Ngana, and Malupo. Tapueluelu thinks that this is a survival of old status in which the speaking chiefs were higher than those not allowed to speak.

The following prelude was found among the papers of the late Tafolo, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua or Tui Tonga lineage.

1. Tapu mo hotau Eiki	Tapu to our Lord [presumably the Deity].
2. Tapu mo hotau Ha'a Moheofo	Tapu to our Haa Moheofo [Tui Kanokupolu].
3. Tapu mo hotau Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga	Tapu to our Tui Haa Mounga [Tui Kanokupolu].
4. Tapu mo hotau Ha'a Ngata mo Ha'a Ngata	Tapu to our Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu.
5. Tapu moe Sina'e ki Mua mo Sina'e ki Mui	Tapu to the first Sinae and the last Sinae.
6. Tapu mo Ha'a Latu Hifo	Tapu to the Haa Latu Hifo.
7. Tapu mo Ha'a Havea	Tapu to the Haa Havea.
8. Tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu	Tapu to the Haa Maafu.
9. Tapu mo Ha'a Vaea	Tapu to the Haa Vaea.
10. Tapu mo Kano Loto'a 'oe Hau (aia ko Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Teiho kae uma'a Afitu mo Lakepa).	Tapu to the chiefs who live in the enclosure of the Tui Kanokupolu (namely Tui Haa Ngana, Malupo, Tui Haa Teiho, and likewise Tui Afitu and Tui Lakepa).
11. Tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha	Tapu to Maliepo and Molofaha [Lauaki and Motuapuaka, matapule of the king].
12. Tapu mo Fokololo 'oe Hau	Tapu to Fokololo [navigators] of the Tui Kanokupolu.
13. Tapu mo moha ngaahi hha fa'ahinga 'oku totonu ke kau ki ai 'ae tala 'oe fakatapu na'e fai 'ehe matua ni.	Tapu to any Haa or Faahinga which is not mentioned here but has a right to be mentioned in the prelude the forefathers gave.

Apparently the following lines were sometimes added:

12a. Tapu mo Hou'eiki fofonga kui	Tapu to the heads of the chiefs
22a. Tapu mo Hou'eiki houtamaki	Tapu to the imperious chiefs [refers to Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu who see to keeping order in the kava circle and whip people who do not obey]
32. Tapu moe Tu'i Hoi	Tapu to the Tui Hoi

The following prelude is from the manuscripts of Maatu, Lord of Niuatoputapu Island. It is modern, for the Deity is mentioned first:

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1. Tapu moe 'Afio ae Taehamai	Tapu to His Majesty the Invisible (the Deity).
2. Tapu mo Haa Moheofo	Tapu to the Haa Moheofo (Tui Kanokupolu).
3. Tapu mo Tui Haa Mo'unga 'oku afio (ai ihe me'afaka'eiki)	Tapu to the Tui Haa Mounga who is there (when a funeral is on). [Tui Haa Mounga is the Tui Kanokupolu].
4. Tapu moe feitu'u alofi moe feitu'u alofi	Tapu to all the chiefs of both sides of the kava ring.
5. Tapu moe Fasitapu	Tapu to the bend of the kava ring [where Veehala sits].
6. Tapu moe Tangata o Tu'i Tonga oku fio he 'alofi oe Hau	Tapu to the men of the Tui Tonga who are in the kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu.
7. Tapu moe tou'a Eiki	Tapu to the chiefs in the *tou'a* (behind the kava bowl). [Veehala, Vahai, and Ata are the only strictly Haa Ngata Motua chiefs in the *alofi* or kava circle. Vahai sits in the *alofi* as he is really from Haa Latu Hifo. In the kava circle Vahai belongs to Haa Latu Hifo, in ordinary life he counts now as Haa Ngata Motua. 7 refers to the chiefs not in the circle but in the *tou'a*, the space behind the bowl.]
8. Tapu mo Fale Fisi	Tapu to the lineage Fale Fisi.
9. Tapu moe Sina'e ki Mu'a moe Sina'e ki Mui.	Tapu to the First Sinae and Last Sinae.
10. Tapu mo Haa Ngata mo Haa Ngata	Tapu to the Haa Ngata (Motua) and the Haa Ngata (Tupu)
11. Tapu mo Haa Latu Hifo	Tapu to the Haa Latu Hifo
12. Tapu mo Haa Havea Lahi	Tapu to the great Haa Havea
13. Tapu mo Haa Ma'afu	Tapu to the Haa Ma'afu
14. Tapu mo Haa Vaea	Tapu to the Haa Vaea
15. Tapu moe kanoloto'a oe Hau (aia ko Haa Ngana mo Haa Ngana, Haa Teiho, [illegible]'uma'a 'a Afitu mo Lakepa).	Tapu to those within the enclosure of the Tui Kanokupolu (that is Tui Haa Ngana, Malupo, Tui Haa Teiho, and also Tui Afitu and Tui Lakepa). [Formerly *kanolotoa* referred to the Tui Tonga only, i. e., the chiefs enumerated lived with the Tui Tonga, not the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression is figurative in a measure and refers to their close attachment to the Tui Kanokupolu, rather than to their actually living with him.]
16. Tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha	Tapu to Maliepo and Molofaha.
17. Tapu mo Fokololo oe Hau	Tapu to the navigators of the Tui Kanokupolu.
18. Tapu moe ngaahi faahinga oku kau kiai ae tala'a.	Tapu to the groups of those already enumerated.

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The house servants of the Tui Tonga were the *vaoeiki* and the *tamaioeiki*. The *vaociki* was a woman of the matapule class, appointed by the Tui Tonga to care for his household. She had her house within the Tui Tonga's enclosure. She was the custodian of food and supplies, and general household manager, having charge of the other servants. It was her duty also to personally look after the welfare and comfort of the Tui Tonga, ministering to him when he was ill. The *tamaioeiki* were the men servants of the Tui Tonga who actually did the work in the house in which the Tui Tonga lived. The public was excluded from the house. A person coming to see the Tui Tonga sat outside and told his message to a matapule, who in turn took it to the Tui Tonga.

The salutation to the Tui Tonga was, "Malo e lakoifie ae afiona" (Being well or in good health, his majesty). *"Hoo afio"* (your majesty) is employed to-day of the Deity. The Tui Tonga might be addressed either in the second person, *hoo*, or the third person, *ae*. "The heavens are void" was the metaphorical announcement of the Tui Tonga's death.

A kind of garland, *lala heilala*, was worn only by the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha. The *heilala* or wax flower, "formerly found growing only upon the lands of the Tui Tonga," were strung like beads on a strand of fau bark, no other blossoms being used, and the strings of blossoms were formed into a rather broad, heavy band.

The Tui Tonga's hair and beard were trimmed by singeing. The envelope (*loutoume*) of the immature coconut was burnt and a living coal therefrom applied to the hair.

When the Tui Tonga drank the milk of a green coconut, at the same time digging out the meat and eating it as he drank, he exclusively employed for that purpose a fresh cut stick from the *toi* tree, the green twigs of which have a sweet mint-like fragrance.

Jioeli Pangia, the man who perhaps would be Tui Tonga today if the office had not been absorbed by the Tui Kanokupolu, gave the following information as to the constitution of the Tui Tonga's immediate following and relatives. The classification is purely one based upon rank and the rank in turn based upon relationship. All of the people mentioned were relatives of the Tui Tonga, though some very distantly related.

1. **Fahu. Highest in rank. The elder daughter of the elder sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tamaha. Her brothers and sisters were also fahu to the Tui Tonga.**
2. **Kaingaofi. The Tui Tonga's immediate family including himself. Of these the elder sister of the Tui Tonga held highest rank. (By immediate family is meant full brothers and sisters.)**
3. **Matapule. Advisers and officers executing the Tui Tonga's business.**
4. **Kainangafonua. Official and household servants of both sexes. These were commoners.**
5. **Tamai o eiki. Cooks and low people.**

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The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the *kaingaofi* with the nose kiss. The matapule kissed his foot. The *kainangafonua* suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was supposed to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga washed his hands.

CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16, p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is called a god.

My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were represented by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically mentioned, he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katoa or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows (op. cit., pp. 276, 277):

> Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Aheeio [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futtafâihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inasi* ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) peculiarity of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

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Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 326) presented a pewter plate to Poulaho [Tui Tonga Pau] in 1777, which he said he would substitute for the bowl which had before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy, and which was used to absolve persons from tapu when the Tui Tonga was absent.

Concerning the chief (presumably Tui Tonga Kauulufonua III) whom Tasman met in 1643, Wilson says (66, p. xlvii):

> An elderly chief, who seems at that time to have had the sovereign authority, came repeatedly on board, shewed the most profound respect to his visitors, and was highly gratified by the presents which they made to him. Among these was a wooden bowl, probably the same that long afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo as a divining-cup, to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which is rendered to the sovereign when present, was paid during his absence to the bowl, as his representative.

RANK AND LANGUAGE

The Tongans make use of different words and expressions when addressing or referring to persons of different social standing. By listening to a conversation it is possible to tell whether those conversing are of equal or unequal rank. One set of words was used in addressing or speaking of the Tamaha, the Female and the Male Tui Tonga, another for the Tui Haa Takalaua, the Tui Kanokupolu, and the chiefs, and still another for the people. In speaking or referring to matapules, terms for the people are used by their superiors and terms for chiefs by their inferiors. It is said that individuals of the same rank use terms for the people when conversing among themselves, but there are exceptions. For example, the Tamaha calls her mother *huhu*, not *fae* (the ordinary term for mother). Furthermore the use of the Tui Tonga term *lakoifie* for Tui Pelehake (who, like the first Tui Tonga, was of celestial origin) suggests that other Tui Tonga terms may have been similarly used.

The relation of rank and language is well expressed by Elia Malupo, one of the Tui Tonga's ceremonial attendants, in a statement written November 27, 1905.

Oku tolu ae faahinga: koe faahinga muomua, ae Tamaha, moe Tui Tonga; moe faahinga e taha, ae Tui Haa Takalaua, moe Tui Kanokupolu; pea moe faahinga e taha, ae kakai. Koia ia, oku tolu ae lea: 1, Kakai; 2, Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, Tui Tonga. Koeni: Kapau teu fetaulaki mo ha taha, oe faahinga oe kakai, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?".

Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga lotoloto, oe Houeiki, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga muomua, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo haele ki fe?"

There are three ranks: the leading rank, the Tamaha, and the Tui Tonga; and another rank, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and the Tui Kanokupolu; and another rank, the people. There are three sets of words: 1, the people; 2, the Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, the Tui Tonga. Thus: If I should meet with anyone of the people rank, I would say: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?" (Where are you going?) And should it be one of the middle rank of chiefs, I would say to him: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" (Where are you going?) [The old greeting for matapule and commoner is said to be *siotoofa* or *siokuofa*, presumably the equivalent of the modern *mafolelei*.]

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Malupo gives the following list of words:

1. MUOMUA (LEADING CHIEFS)	2. LOTOLOTO (MIDDLE CHIEFS)	3. KAKAI (PEOPLE)	ENGLISH
angavalea	tuutamaki	kovi	Bad (2, dangerous)
aofivala	taovala	kakei	Outer, shirt-like garment
ei	koe	ee, aa	Yes, in assent to what is said. Koia is the term used to an active matapule.
ei mai maaku	foakimai maaku	omi maaku	Give it to me
fahafaha	falatokaanga	falamohenga	Bed
fai ae vae oe langi	fai ae mea fakaeiki	fai e tau putu	Funeral (1, doing the feet of the Tui Tonga; 2, doing a thing of the chiefs; 3, doing our dead)
fakahifo	faele	fanau	To give birth
fakamalu	takele	mulumulu	To bathe, a bath (3, to wash or rub)
fakamau	noo	nonoo	To tie
fakamomoko	fakamomofi	fakamafana	To warm one's self
fakamonuka	polai	tafai	To lance (cut)
feitaumafa	halofia	fiekai	Hungry
fekita	uma	uma	To kiss
hala	pekia	mate	Dead
hoihoifua	katakata	kata	To laugh
hoko	vala	fatei	Skirt-like garment (sarong)
houhau	tupotamaki	ita	Angry
kini	fue	fuefue	To fan (to whisk)
koau	koau	haa	I (or it is I)
Koe ha ho finengalo?	Koe ha ho mea?	Koe ha ho loto?	What is your wish?
langi	tauolunga	mata	Eye or face
langi	fofonga	ulu	Head
langi	faiangatoka	tano	To bury
langilangi	fakavao	mumu	To warm by a fire
lika	misi	mohetuu	To dream; a dream
maafu	mofia	vela	To burn or scald; a burn
malahia	kona	mate he kona	To be drunk (1, foolish sin; 3, dead drunk)
malo ae lakoifie	malo ae malakilaki	malo hoo moui	Health (1, it is well done that you are well in health; 2, it is well done that you are well; 3, it is well done that you live
malomaloaa	tauolunga	matakovi	Sore eyes
mokoi	manako	manako	To like, to approve
monumonuka	lavea	mafesifesi	Wounded
namu kakala	namuku	namuelo	Bad odor (1, smell of flowers; 2, bad odor or smell; 3, stink)
ngalulu	ngangau	ulungangau	Headache
oua e takavale ae finengalo	oua angafaka-tua	oua angavale	Don't act foolishly (1, don't be foolish-minded; 2, don't act like a commoner)
puluhi	tengetange	fokoutua	Ill or sick
sialea	hina	hina	White or gray hair showing age (1, white like the gardenia flower)
sinifu	unobo	ohoana	Spouse (1, wife, or, perhaps more correctly, concubine)

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1. MUOMUA (LEADING CHIEFS)	2. LOTOLOTO (MIDDLE CHIEFS)	3. KAKAI (PEOPLE)	ENGLISH
taahine	fefine	finemotua	Woman (1, maiden; 2, woman; 3, old woman)
taalofaki	talaaumea	ukuumea	To wash the head with clay
takafalu	tua	huimoko	The back
tamasii	tangata	siana	Man (1, lad; 2, man; 3, fellow)
taomifonua	lalango	kali	Wooden pillow (1, To press down the land; 2, to raise up; the pillow of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was called *kohapo*.
tau haele	tau mea	tau alu	We will go, or let us go
taumafa	ilo	kai	To eat
taumafa e nae holo	kuo holo ae taumafa	kava e nae mama	The kava is chewed (1, the food has fallen)
tofa	toka	mohe	To sleep
tofusi	lele	puna	To run (3, to fly)
toukupu i nima	nima	kakao	Hands (3, or legs of crustacean)
toukupu i vae	vae	kaulihi	Feet
toulekeleka	motua	vaivai	Old (1, handsome; 3, feeble)
tutulu	tangi	tangialoima	To cry (1, To drop tears; 3, to cry tears)
umesi, umeumesi	kinisi	tai	To strike

The following were obtained from Peter Koloamatangi of Lapaha, Tongatabu.

TUI TONGA TERM	ORDINARY TERM	ENGLISH
fata	vaka	vessel
fatu	kete	stomach
finangalo	loto	will, mind
huafa	hingoa	name
langi	ngutu	mouth
toukupu	ule	penis

The terms *penepena* (to lime the hair), and *fofunga* (necklace of human hair), are Tui Tonga and also chiefly words; the equivalent terms for commoners *lahei* and *fulefuleulu*.

The following terms were obtained from Jioeli Pangia, from other informants, and from Baker's Tongan dictionary (2). As used in this list, the word "king" refers to the modern ruler (Tui Kanokupolu), not to the Tui Tonga, and, where a term is shared by both, it represents a modern extension of a Tui Tonga term to the now supreme Tui Kanokupolu. Some additional terms are given by Collocott (14, pp. 151-208).

Alo. The abdomen of a great personage; the Tui Tonga's privates; a child of rank, now also applied to the second person in the Trinity.

Angavale. To observe traditional etiquette in the presence of the Tui Tonga.

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Apaapa. The alofi (the place occupied by chiefs in a kava party) of the Tui Tonga's kava party. A mark of respect and attention to the conversation of the Tui Tonga.
E! keau. The affirmative, spoken in answer to the call or command of the Tui Tonga.
Fakahake. To vomit (Tui Tonga).
Fakaisa. Chief woman making coconut oil in the sun. The same operation by a common woman is called tanakiiolo.
Fakamao. The tapa belt of the Tui Tonga.
Fakanofo. Coronation.
Fakataufolofola. To address the King; chief language.
Faleaio. The family or children of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha.
Faiapaiapasi. Chiefs to kill each other secretly.
Fietaumafa. The hunger of the Tui Tonga.
Finangalo. The mind, applied to the Tui Tonga, nowadays to the King and the Deity.
Folofola. Word, speech, addressed only to the Tui Tonga or the Deity, and nowadays to the King; not applicable to private persons or even chiefs.
Folofa. The hair of the Tui Tonga.
Hasio. To appear, applied to the gods, the Tui Tonga, and the King.
Hala. Demise, applied to the Tui Tonga and Tamaha, also to the King; a sacred club.
Hau. The attendants (takanga) of the Tui Tonga; a conqueror, a reigning prince; the "tribe" of the King, as faahinga as Hau.
Hohaa. The beard of chiefs.
Huafa. Name, applied only to gods, king, chiefs.
Lakolfia. Well in health, used to (or of) the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pelehake, and the King.
Lakolfua. Well in health, used of the Tui Tonga, now used of the King.
Langi. The head or face of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha; his burying place.
Osikanga. Finished being seasick (a term used of chiefs).
Oua e takavale ai finangalo. A formal remonstrance to the Tui Tonga against the many tasks he has set for one to do in a single day, or in a too short period of time. Only the highest ranking matapule could use this remonstrance.
Puluhi. Sickness of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha.
Pulubia. Death of the Tui Tonga.
Pupuluhi. Slightly afflicted, applied to the Tui Tonga.
Sinifu. The collective name of the women of the harem of the Tui Tonga.
Taahine. Daughter of the Tui Tonga (daughter of other chiefs called fefine; daughter of lower orders called finemotua).
Tamasii. The son of the Tui Tonga.
Taumafa. To eat, applied to the Tui Tonga, but now used to high chiefs.
Tuiaki. To cut the hair of the Tui Tonga.
Uluvaii. The name of a person killed at the burial of the Tui Tonga.
Umeumesi. For the Tui Tonga to strike or whip his small sons.
Uta. Inland, land, on shore; the cargo or freight of a vessel; applied to the Tui Tonga and persons of his rank.
Vaavaakaka. Poorly, not well (the Tamaha).

CHIEFS

All of the modern chiefs of Tonga trace their relationship ultimately to the first Tui Tonga, the son of Tangaloa Eitumatupua, the sky god. More immediately many trace their relationship to the Tui Kanokupolu, but as

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When my kava is brought, it is delivered and kept. If the food is insufficient I have to ask permission of the presiding chief to drink.

To smoke is forbidden for the lower matapule, but is allowed for the chiefs and Motuapuaka on one side. If they are far from the King they may smoke a little. The side of Lauaki is quite forbidden to smoke.

MAKING AND SERVING KAVA

The following account from living informants describes the making and serving of kava at a modern kava party:

The matapule to the right of the president calls out, "Ui haa motokonaki," the command to assemble the proper materials for the making of kava. The things are brought and assembled at the end of the kava circle, opposite the chiefs, in front of the kava mixer (*ngahikava*), who has two attendants called *angaikava*, one on either side.

Then the matapule at the right of the president calls, "Hao ha tangata." This is the command for someone to come to him for the kava root. One of the *angaikava* responds, carrying the kava to the lower end of the circle, where it is pounded on a stone anvil with a hammerstone [Formerly it was chewed, a process called *moma*.]

The pulverized kava is gathered by the two *angaikava* and placed on the mat to the right and back of the mixer. One of the *angaikava* then rinses the interior of the bowl, rubbing it with his hands—a process called *kaukau i ai tanoa*. Another picks up the bowl by its rim, with his left hand, strikes its bottom with his right hand (an act called *hiki tanoa*), and places it before the *ngahikava*. An *angaikava* then pours the kava into the bowl from the right side of the mixer, who then places a doubled mat or a piece of tapa, or other material, under him, so as to be in position to lean well over the great bowl. This act is called *lango lango mei*.

The mixer, with graceful flourishes of the hands, mashes the kava together in the bowl, spreading it out over the inner surface of the bowl, and tipping the bowl slightly away from him, his hands on either side of the rim, exposes its interior to the president, calling, if the president be the king (Tui Kanokupolu), "Holo ae taumafa ni" (Knead this drink), or "Kuo holo kava ni" (This kava is kneaded), if the president is below the king in rank.

The right hand matapule answers: "Kuo holo: tukuatu" (It is kneaded: Lower the bowl, which has been tilted towards the matapule) "Tuumalie pe kae palu." (All right, mix). "Tafoki kimoua" (Turn), addressed to the two helpers on either side of the bowl, who turn inwards. "Ai haamo vai" (Put in your water), at which many people run for water, the helpers shouting, "Vai!" (Water!) to the people in the *toua*. Those who first bring water, in coconut shell containers, deposit it before the bowl. The right hand helper then takes water and pours it into the bowl, while the mixer kneads the kava in the water. "Vaitaha" (One water) (almost enough). One helper ceases to pour water; the other alone applies water. "Taofi vai" (Stop pouring water). They stop adding water. "Palu fakatatau pea tui haafakamau" (Mix equally) and "tui haafakamau" (probably a method of twisting the *fau* fiber strainer). With a double flourish of the hands the mixer mixes the kava and ends abruptly, resting his hands on the edge of the bowl.

Then the right hand helper throws the *fau* fiber strainer on the bowl. In this kind of a kava party the strainer is very large and is called *uuu*. With more hand and arm flourishes the mixer wets the *fau* and wipes the edge of the bowl, being very technical and formal in his movements. Then he begins to strain the kava, a process called in this ceremony *milolua*. He carefully and slowly pulls the strainer through the water with both hands. He then raises it, one end in his left hand, twists it and lays the twisted fiber on his left forearm, the one end still clasped in his left hand. Then he reaches under his left arm with his right hand, takes hold of the end of the

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This is the manner of thanking for the pigs: "Thank you for all pigs [except *puaka haamo*]. Thank you for the *puaka haamo*. Thank you for the *puaka hula*. Thank you for the *puaka toho*."

If there are any ripened bananas [bananas ripened by wrapping in banana leaves], "Thank you for the ripened bananas." Then next is the Tongan pudding (*faikakai*), then next is the *too* (shellfish), then the melons, and all things from the land and lastly other things from the sea.

If there is a kava for the women, then this is the order of the thanks: first is the *kie* mat, then the *fihu* mat, then the *kumi* black tapa, then the white tapa (*ngatu taahine*), counted in the thanks for tapa making. Then next are the *fala* mats, then the *efu* mat, then the *kie Tonga* mat. And the last word of thanks is said, "Then thanks for the work done. Thanks for the goods."

After the thanks, the matapule who directs the activities says, "Come, look at the cooked food." Then the thanks are said like this, "Yams, good work."

If there is to be any kava drinking at the funeral then the officiating matapule says: "Get all your things in the *toua* ready." Then after that he says, "Someone come. Keep that kava to be made."

But first he asks the president (Tui Kanokupolu) which kava is to be taken and made.

After the kava is beaten the matapule expects the kava to be made known. Then he says to the persons in the *toua*, "Come, let the work be shown" (so that the king can see the kava better).

After that the man who makes the kava turns sideways and says, "The food (drink) is ready." Then the directing matapule, if it is plain to him that the kava is enough for the kava bowl or kava drinkers, says "Deliver, it is ready. Slow, till mixed. Turn, you two; call for water." When the matapule thinks there is enough water, he says, "First water." Then one stops pouring the water and holds it out. Then it is understood by the matapule that there is enough water and he says, "Stop the water, and mix. Examine and fix the strainer of the kava ready to serve." After he says, "Stop the water," then the remaining unused water is taken away. And when the kava strainer is ready, the matapule says, "Mix below and give him the strainer for the kava."

During the time the strainer is in use Motuapuaka takes the opportunity of talking to the people or one of his family does so, or Lauaki or a navigator, if it is his turn for directing. If the king says the kava is not sufficient, then the matapule asks the kava maker, "Is the kava ready or is there not enough?"

If it is answered, "It is not enough," he will say,

"Put the strainer in the kava bowl, bring it to the front, and someone come and take more kava."

The matapule knows when enough kava or too little is in the kava bowl and it is plain to the matapule whether or not to serve the kava in a banana-leaf cup. He will ask this way, "Is there enough kava in the kava-bowl?"

If it is answered, "The bowl is not big enough," he will say,

"Look for another bowl." And that is brought and one of the men from the kava makers divides the kava and takes it to the new bowl.

Then the order is given from the chiefs near the bend of the kava ring, and it is not allowed for Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule who do the announcing) to speak standing up.

Then their remarks are prefaced like this: "I am going to say a few words. Tapu [used by inferiors to superiors, meaning "sacred to thee"] for the Tui Haa Mounga who attends and tapu for the Haa Siulangopu and Latu Hifo, and tapu for the Maliepo and Molofaha, and tapu for the Haa Vaea and tapu for the Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu, and tapu for the Haa Havea, and tapu for the Haa Maafu, and tapu for the chiefs all present, and tapu for the *toua* chiefs." [The *toua* is the place behind

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this manner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto.

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo"[1] (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Tongan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called *hu*, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of distinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribution of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.)

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear.

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out.

Men shave the hair from the legs.

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans.

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause (*paa*), also wear the hair quite short.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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there were not a considerable vacant space left opposite the priest. In this space, at the bottom of the circle, sits the man who prepares the cava, the root being previously chewed by the cooks, attendants, and others, who sit behind him: behind these again sit the chiefs indiscriminately among the people. The chiefs take this retired and humble station on account of the sacredness of the occasion, conceiving that such modest demeanour must be acceptable to the gods.

As soon as they are all seated, the priest is considered as inspired, the god being supposed to exist within him from that moment. He remains for a considerable time in silence, with his hands clasped before him; his eyes are cast down, and he rests perfectly still. During the time that the victuals are being shared out, and the cava preparing, the matabooles sometimes begin to consult him; sometimes he answers them, at other times not; in either case he remains with his eyes cast down. Frequently he will not utter a word till the repast is finished, and the cava too. When he speaks, he generally begins in a low and very altered tone of voice, which gradually rises to nearly its natural pitch, though sometimes a little above it. All that he says is supposed to be the declaration of the god, and he accordingly speaks in the first

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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669 " his foe." This last sentence he bellowed
702 forth in a tone and loudness of voice that made
726 every one tremble, for in this particular he was
634 very remarkable; when powerfully and passion-
[177] ately excited, the sound of his voice was like
[195] the roaring of a wild beast, and might be heard at an incredible distance.

Having finished his speech, several of his warriors ran up to him, striking their clubs furiously on the ground, bidding him not to be afraid of his enemies, for that, comparatively speaking, there were no real warriors in Vavaoo: and that they would stand by him to the very last. The king then addressed them again, describing, in a more particular manner, how they were to proceed in their encounter with the enemy, on the approach of whom they were all to sit down on the ground, and remain perfectly still, as if unconcerned in what was going forward; and even though the enemy were to throw spears and discharge arrows, they were nevertheless to remain motionless till they received orders to rise and rush upon them in a body; this they were to do with ardour and impetuosity; and he was quite certain, he said, that such a sudden and bold attack would put them completely to the rout. He then made them practise this manœuvre several times. Lastly, he spirited them up with thoughts of

A [Finow--Analyst]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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687 763 727 669 now, and all the chiefs of Hapai, cursing them in the most bitter manner *, and their fathers for begetting them, and heaping maledictions upon all their generation; he went on in this manner, cursing and swearing at his enemies, till the water came up to his mouth, and, even then, he actually threw back his head for the opportunity of uttering another curse, spluttering the water forth from his lips, till it bereft him for ever of the power of speech. They were about twenty minutes sinking, after which the large canoe returned immediately to Vavaoo.

687 157 Booboonoo and Nowfaho were both men that bore a most amiable character: in time of war they were brave and enterprising; in time of peace, gentle and humane. The conduct of [682] [158] Nowfaho, in killing the poor Hapai woman, seems to make much against his humanity;

[195] [264] [266] * The curses used among the Tonga people are very numerous; but, for the most part, they are rather horrible commands than curses, and are, generally, in regard to maltreating one's relations, or eating one's superior relations; for it is considered a crime to eat food which a superior relation has touched; how much more, therefore, to eat that relation himself! For a sample;—"Bake your grandfather till his skin turns to cracknel, and gnaw his skull for your share!"—"Go, and ravish your own sister!"—"Dig up your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones," &c. &c. Many of their sayings, in this way, are too indelicate to mention.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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sented before the house, as an offering to the god, that he might spare her life for the sake of Finow. On these occasions, one or other of the matabooles, and sometimes two or three in succession, made an address to the invoked divinity (for he had no priest), to the following purpose: "Here thou seest assembled Finow "and his chiefs, and the principal matabooles "of thy favoured land" (the Tonga islands, taken collectively), "thou seest them humbled "before thee. We pray thee not to be mer- "ciless, but spare the life of the woman* for "the sake of her father, who has always been "attentive to every religious ceremony†: but "if thy anger is justly excited by some crime "or misdemeanor committed by any other of "us who are here assembled, we entreat thee "to inflict on the guilty one the punishment "which he merits, and not to let go thy ven- "geance on one who was born but as yester- "day. For our own parts, why do we wish to "live but for the sake of Finow; but if his "family is afflicted, we are all afflicted, inno-

* On *such occasions* they call the person for whom they intercede, however young, either a *man*, or *woman*, according to the sex, although they have appropriate words to express *boy*, *girl*, and *child*.

† Finow was noted for his want of religion: the above words, therefore, were used as mere form, and because no one dared to say otherwise.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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in an elevated tone of voice, why they talked about the fear of chiefs; were they not his servants, and had he not a right to act with them as he pleased? He then took in his hand his musket from behind him, when the man who sat next immediately declared, that, if he made any resistance, he would die in opposing him, rather than allow him to escape: upon this, Mr. Mariner summoned up all his strength, and struck him a most violent blow, or rather stab, near the loins, with the muzzle of the piece, exclaiming at the same time, "*Ta gi ho Hotooa*, "*co ho mate e**." This lunge produced a dangerous wound, for the musket, being a very old one, had grown quite sharp at the muzzle, and was, besides, impelled by the uncommon force with which, inspired by the prospect of escape, he felt himself animated: the man immediately fell flat in the bottom of the canoe, senseless, and scarcely with a groan†. Mr. Mariner in-

* Meaning, literally, "Strike your Hotooa, there's your "death!" which are forms of energetic expressions, used like oaths, on extraordinary occasions, calculated to express vengeance.

† This man, whose name was Teoo Fononga, well deserved the fate he met with: he used to beat his wife unmercifully, for which Mr. Mariner had frequently knocked him down with a club: he formerly had a wife who, in time of scarcity, he killed and ate: since that time having several children, more than he wished, he killed a couple of them to get them out of the way. His best qualities were being an excellent fisherman, and a very hard-working fellow.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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4. Peculiarity of the mourning for his decease. 643 796

5. Tooitonga is not circumcised, as all the other men are, unless he goes to foreign islands to undergo this ceremony; nor is he tattowed. 644 765 304

6. Peculiarities of speech, used in regard to Tooitonga; for instance, if the king or any chief but Tooitonga be sick, they say he is *ténga tángi*, but Tooitonga being sick, he is said to be *booloóhi:* so with many other words that are used exclusively for him, and which will be noticed hereafter. 192 195

These things are mentioned in this place, merely to afford an idea of the high veneration in which Tooitonga is held; for to whom but the greatest personage can such peculiarities belong? Notwithstanding his high rank, however, he has comparatively but very little absolute power, which extends in a direct and positive manner only to his own family and attendants: as to his property, he has somewhat more than the generality of the nobles, but much less than the king, who by his arbitrary sovereignty can lay claim to almost any thing. 643

Thus all that can be said in this place of Tooitonga is, that he is by far the greatest *Egi*, having the credit of a high divine original, and that all respect and veneration is therefore due to him.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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643 person to communicate what he had to say,
634 because, being the superior chief, every thing
669 would have been *tabooed* that he happened to
[565] touch. When the king arrived, Tooitonga
[784] mildly addressed him on the subject of his aunt's revolt, and advised that he should endeavour to accommodate matters rather than involve the country in war: to which the king shortly replied, "My lord Tooitonga* may re-, "turn to his own part of the island, and content "himself in peace and security; matters of "war are my concern, and in which he has no "right to interfere." He then left him. Thus, 643 in all respects, we are to regard Tooitonga as a *divine* chief of the highest rank, but having no power or authority in affairs belonging to the 565 king. It is presumed, however, that when the 178 Tonga islands were in a state of peace, that is, before the people had acquired their warlike habits, that Tooitonga, as well as Veachi, had some influence even in matters of civil government, that their advice was often asked, and

[192] [195] * *Ho Egi Tooitonga* means, literally, "thy lord Tooitonga," in which the possessive pronoun *thy*, or *your*, is used instead of *my*: or, if the word *egi* be translated lordship, or chiefship, the term of address will be more consistent and similar to ours, *your lordship, your grace, your majesty*. The title, *ho egi*, is never used but in addressing a superior chief, or speaking of a god; or in a public speech. *Ho Egi!* also means chiefs, as in the commencement of the speech of Finow the second on coming into power.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

the one in which I lived. A choir of men entertained the chief at nights, singing, among other things, the compositions dealing with the rhinoceros beetle. My wish to hear these pieces becoming known to him, he courteously sent the choir to sing them to me, and I had the words written down.

Love poems are called *hiva kakala*, songs of sweet-smelling flowers, of which some modern specimens are given (p. 125). A collection of modern poems, including pieces for dances, might be enlarged indefinitely. What are presented are fairly typical. Direct references to passion are remarkably rare, except in present-day compositions. Instead, the poet speaks of pleasing sights and sounds and fragrances, and the imagination must supply the circumstance that the lover would fain walk with his mistress in these pleasant places, frequent festivals with her, give to her, or receive at her hands, sweet-smelling garlands and flowers.

There are other poems in which wooing is represented under the image of hunting the pigeon. Other images, for example fishing, may be so employed. This reserve is characteristic of the Tongans, who are a proud and self-controlled people.

Mariner speaks of the frequency with which Samoan songs are used as accompaniments to dances. Perhaps he overstates this; but Samoan verses, not understood and often corrupted, are frequently sung. There is also a marked tendency to embellish compositions with foreign words and phrases, Samoan, Fijian, and, today, English. Sometimes these loan words are intelligible to the Tongans; but, whether understood or not, they evidently please by their sound. The language of poetry is remarkably terse and pregnant. Almost invariably each line is complete in itself. I have translated line for line. It has been difficult to avoid making the English of these pithy verses bald and harsh. Anyone desiring a good idiomatic knowledge of the language could scarcely do better than study the poetry. The language is terse, forceful, idiomatic, and such as is used in ordinary conversation. It does not always conform to the organizations attempted in printed grammars. The way in which the Tongan speaks is not always quite that in which his European grammarians thinks he must have intended to speak.

MAMAEAEPOTO AND FALEPALANGI

Two famous bards lived in the first half of the nineteenth century. Many of their poems are composed in rivalry with one another. Mamaeaepoto belonged to Vavau, though it is clear he came to spend a good deal of time with the chiefs of Tongatabu. Falepapalangi belonged to the western (*hihifo*) district of Tongatabu. Both were deformed; Mamaeaepoto had misshapen hands, and Falepapalangi had deformed feet.

6: Collocott M-5 , (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

NOTES

Page 8. Maui in Eua

1. The *si* is apparently the well-known *Cordyline terminalis;* the leaves used in making girdles, the root for sweetening food. Pratt (30) says that in Samoa the root was used as food in times of scarcity. Doubtless the Tongans also ate it when other food was not plentiful.

Pages 10-11. Stories of Tongatabu

1. Vaileua, called also Touia. Possibly one name is that of the ground in which the pool was situated, and the other that of the pool itself.

2. No other occurrence of the word *haulefe* is known to me.

3. A party which includes one chief or a number of chiefs is referred to collectively as *hou'eiki* (chiefs), and chiefly language is used with reference to them.

Page 11. The well Veemumuni

1. The term *vai* (water), here translated "well" is applied to lake, spring, pool of fresh water, the sea, and river, frequently without distinction, but descriptive words are sometimes added, for example, *vai-tafe,* flowing water (river); *vai-tapu,* springing water (spring).

Page 12. Road to Pulotu

1. Smith (33, pp. 35, 36) thinks that in this duality of position of the Spirit-world, which is common throughout Polynesia, there is a confusion of two meanings of *raro, lalo* (*ao*), down and west.

Page 16. Tuipulotu's house in Pulotu

1. Tuipulotu is a frequently occurring proper name, both of men and women. Mariner mentions Tuipulotu as a minor god of the sea and voyages, and protector of Finau's family (28, vol. 2, p. 107).

2. Accounts of Samoan marriage ceremony are given by Kramer (26, vol. 1, p. 38); by Brown (6, p. 21); and by Collocott (11).

Pages 17-20. Lolongovavau, daughter of Hina and Sinilau

1. It is not necessary to assume that every occurrence of the names Hina and Sinilau concerns Hina, connected with moon and sea, and Sinilau or Tinirau, son of the sun, connected with sea and fishes. I have heard the Tongan opinion expressed that there is a tendency for stories of handsome men and their beautiful wives to attach themselves to the names of Sinilau and Hina. In this tale, however, there are many features of Hina stories.

2. The mother's side of the house is subordinate to the father's, and from that side is most likely to come such a guardian as Ofamaikiatama.

3. There are frequent mentions of speaking *puko* tree, or a speaking tree, but this identification of two trees, as indicated by the two expressions, is rare.

4. The expression *Alu hake ki mama* means "went up to light." The word *mama* (light) is a usual one for the world of human beings, and for human beings themselves; Mamani, which apparently means this light, is practically a proper name of this world.

5. Persons greeting one another commonly refer to what the other is doing; that is, Ofamaikiatama says "Malo e maimoa" (Malo the game), and Lolomatokelau replies, "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, *malo* the journey). The word *malo,* sometimes rather colorless, expresses thanks, approval, appreciation. A very common form of greeting of people meeting on the road is the simple question "Were you in such a place?"

6. See p. 12 for reference to roads to Pulotu. Gifford gives Niuaunofo as the northwestern point of Tongatabu. This is a few miles north from the road to Pulotu on the weather coast near the village of Foui.

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539 7. The good will of her husband's sisters is of importance to a woman: for
773 example, one of the causes assigned for difficult labor is the ill will of the husband's
775 sisters.

8. The literal translation of *taahine* is girl, maiden. This is a respectful term, used of chiefly women, irrespective of marriage or age. In the same way *tama, tamasii* [607] (lad, boy) is applied to men who are chiefs.

845 9. This line is difficult. It is perhaps a proper name applied to the sleeping wife.
192 Utukaunaga is evidently a place name and translated it indicates the place where the man lies, and where his body, anointed with sweet oil, has been so foully used.

126 10. The expression *ia te'e tama*, was thus written by the writer, who took the story down. *Te'e* in this position is unknown to me; possibly it is *te*, the rare article. It is provisionally translated "my."

192 11. Onemalama is the compound or area within which the compound of Lolomatokelau was situated. Haatafu, a wider name, is the village or area embracing
539 Onemalama and other places. This is a very common feature of present-day nomen-
773 clature but possibly it was not so common earlier. This story does not appear to be
775 recent and it is possible "in Haatafu" is added by the modern narrator to assist identification. It is said that the gathering of Tongans into comparatively large villages is
361 a recent innovation, originating perhaps in war, and encouraged by the needs of present-day education and religion.

178 Pages 23-25. Sinilau and Hina, daughter of Puko

539 1. The expression "branching ivory" (*lei-mangamanga*) seems to be quite un-
773 known to present-day Tongans, but probably indicates the female pudenda. "*Lei man-*
192 *gamanga* is probably connected with the *rei* of Atu" (13, no. 3). Best (3) writes of "the curious stone artifact of Atiu fashioned to resemble and represent the female organ."

Pages 25-26. Hina, Sinilau, and the jealous demon wife

[843] 1. The idiom for a pregnant woman's longing for a special food is rather striking. She is said to be pregnant, or to have conceived, to the food. In this instance: Hina *oku tuituia ki he atu.*

2. *Ko Vaihi e*, literally, "That is Hawaii" (17, No. 358).

3. Fatailangalanga, climbing fatai (*Cassytha filiformis* ?). *Fuhifamalama*, cluster
539 of gleaming hala.

4. Kapala is perhaps the island of Kambara, Fiji; but several places, not islands,
773 are also called Kapala (21).

[103] Pages 34-37. Hina and Nukuokakala

[197] 1. Doubtless the dialect of Niua Foou, as spoken today, has been modified by the language of the main part of Tonga.

[133] 2. The steep rocky shores of Niua Foou afford little accommodation for boats. The natives support themselves in swimming with a long, light pole under the arm.

3. Firing a gun, the modern narrator's version of what was presumably the beating the drum.

[192] 4. *Mali*, that is, English "marry" (or French, *mari*), both used as noun, of either husband or wife, and as a verb.

Pages 39-41. Kulakehanau and Tongamauluau

539 1. The heroine's name is spelled "Tonga-maulu'au," and "Tonga-mauluau." The hero's name is spelled both "Kulakehahau" and "Kulakihahau."

2. The probable translation of Keuiafanafana is "Overcome by a whisper."

[192] 3. The respectful word for speech, *folofola*, is used properly enough by the
[195] maiden to her lover; *taataa*, an equally respectful term for blood seems less proper when used by the girl of herself. No one, not even the greatest chief, uses respectful terms of himself. Probably the exigencies of rhyme have forced the word upon the narrator.

[192] 4. In my copy of text, *kamosia* stands *kanosia*, a word which I do not know. I conjecture that *kamosia*, meaning signed to, beckoned, persuaded, is correct.

5. This is either the name of the man's compound, or simply a common noun meaning gathering place of companions.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

8. Two copies of the text read *Pea mou o ne, o folaue;* I know no meaning for *ne* in this position, and a very intelligent Tongan emended it to *pe*.

9. It is not clear whether pray (*lotu*) is used in the Christian sense, or whether some supplication to heathen deities is meant. Mamaeaepoto lived into the Christian period.

10. Here is a sting. Ostensibly the meaning is that when affairs are all settled in the country and it is easy for all the leading men to go away on an excursion of pleasure, then "we shall go away with you on a trip." Secondarily, there is the sense that "we shall pick nice calm weather for a chap like you, who is not much of a man." Mamaeaepoto retorts that the day was a good sailing day, and secondarily, that there were not difficulties anywhere in the country that necessitated his staying.

11. Although these lines have been taken as the pretext and consolatory remarks made to Mamaeaepoto when he was left behind, it is quite possible to understand them as perfectly sincere remarks addressed by Mamaeaepoto to his companions in misfortune.

12. The word *fasi* (song, tune), stands in the margin of my copy of the poem in several places, apparently a direction for the performance of the piece. It stands opposite the lines which have *e* at the end. It is difficult to say what, precisely, is intended. Perhaps the bard recited the greater part of the poem, and a chorus joined in on the lines indicated.

13. Fusi is probably the name of a man; Fusi-momoho is the name of a boat.

14. Drums were carried on canoes, and beaten as they left, or drew near to, land, and also at other times to cheer and encourage the crews.

Pages 71-72. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. Two copies of the text have been used, and the text presented here is a little longer than either.

2. The "new boat" is a poem, or a festival, performed in Hahake, the great seat of chiefly residence. It seems that Falepapalangi was defeated, or criticised, by his rival; he replies that his composition, whose theme was the Pale, a headland in Vavau, was composed hurriedly, without much time for polishing, as the bard tossed it off in the fervor of inspiration, using the breeze of inspiration while it was blowing.

3. *Telos* is a little fish that springs along on the rocks, making its way back to the sea when disturbed. The *siale* is a weak and unaggressive shrub, whose blooms fade soon after they are picked. The tropic bird cannot rise when fallen.

4. "A strife of strong fish" is proverbial for a contest of those who are strong and well-matched (17, No. 211).

5. The eminence to which the rival has attained by his victory is likened to his going up and surveying the scene from the headland of Tave in Eua.

6. This reminder that modesty is becoming may be a literal statement that the rival is not skillful at sea, as well as the figurative assertion that in the craft of the bard he has not all the gifts.

8. *Uhiuhi* is the name of a plant.

9. A very bold and effective metaphor. "Possessed" is used in the sense of demonic possession, sick.

10. Veuki is the name of Falepapalangi's compound.

11. Literally. "Wearier, wearer out, of day and night." Instead of "contest," some word such as "song" might be supplied. It is possible that he refers to some scornful question in the rival's poem as to who this Falepapalangi is.

12. In Tongan speech, especially in ceremonial speech in the presence of chiefs, it is very common to guard oneself when about to mention something that perhaps it is not polite to speak about.

13. This metaphor relates to the game of *lafo*. The position supposed is that his opponent's last throw is in scoring position, nearest to the edge of the *lafo*, also near the mat. This is the poem which has been successful. Falepapalangi has a piece of his own standing just near this. Falepapalangi is now throwing his last piece, the present poem. He will not try the shot that drives straight through, knocking the opponent's scoring piece off the mat; that would disturb his own piece, but, by taking advantage of the raised edge, or cushion, of the mat, he will come around and knock his opponent's piece off and score with two pieces of his own.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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nature that they may be appropriately rendered by colloquialisms, and sometimes the nuance of an English vulgarism approaches that of a Tongan phrase. Both alike are the coinage of every-day speech, but there is an important difference in that the Tongan never speaks real slang; he always makes a proper use of true words. Of abusive language there is plenty, but it does not consist of words not current in ordinary speech, but of offensive suggestions and invitations couched in very plain terms. Typical Tongan billingsgate is the request that one eat things that nobody likes to eat, very frequently one's elderly relatives, or excrement. But in all this there is no slang, no employment of unusual or obsolete words.

TONGAN ORATORY

The average of oratorical ability of the Tongans is high. The Tongan seems to know very little of the nervous embarrassment which frequently affects the European when he is unexpectedly summoned to his feet before an assembly. To European taste the delivery of a Tongan oration has little of the polish and artistry that lend grace to the addresses of European masters of speech, but the crudeness lies rather in the manner than in the matter. The Tongan usually speaks to his gathering in a loud voice; frequently he shouts at it. An elderly Tongan clergyman whose felicitous utterances had won for him a deservedly high place among contemporary speakers once boasted to an Englishman of the distance at which he could be heard when he was in his physical prime. The Tongan speaks and shouts as his feelings direct. If he is excited, gestures and voice betray it.

But in spite of some crudities the Tongan is keenly sensible to apposite and graceful language. After all the things which he values in a speaker are those which appeal to a European. He likes a voice that is *malie*, that is, musical and resonant; he asks that words shall be *malie*, that is, that the diction shall be graceful; and he also desires that the words shall *aji*, that is, shall literally be penetrating, shall pointedly and clearly express what it is desired to express. Of these three qualifications, the proportion of Tongan orators who possess the first, the resonant musical voice, is not large to European ears, though probably greater to Tongan ears.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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In respect to the remaining qualifications, graceful language and language that hits the mark, the average of Tongan oratory must be rated high. Although in narrative Tongan tends to become more prolix than English and other European languages and has naturally a greater poverty of abstract terms, yet it is on the whole a vigorous and virile language. 537 195

The flowers of Tongan speech are perhaps best displayed on ceremonial occasions when orations are delivered before great chiefs, although to European taste these efforts are not so effective as less studied deliverances. Much of the gracefulness of diction is derived from a proper use of chiefly language, consisting of words applied only to chiefs and a skilful selection of terms befitting the august assembly.

In more ordinary speeches an appropriate use of chiefly words adds grace to the oration and phrases such as those in this collection lend not only grace, but are even more valued as belonging to the category of things that drive home one's point. A striking phrase, aptly chosen, makes the desired hit at a single stroke. Such phrases, indeed, are among the most valued adjuncts of oratory. The best Tongan addresses make large use of concrete illustration, and such phrases are frequently admirably fitted to be so employed.

DIVISION OF MATERIAL

We have broken up this collection into conveniently sized blocks according to subject, but the division is rather arbitrary. For most of the expressions the section in which they should be placed has been clear; but some of the phrases might perhaps have been as appropriately assigned to some other division as to the one chosen. We trust that our choice of context will be found on the whole the most useful. A few cross references have been added, but it is obviously impossible to give real continuity to a collection of such diverse material. Within the several groups the arrangement is partly alphabetical, but this arrangement has been freely departed from in order to bring together similar phrases. 128

The classified table of contents^A makes apparent the proportions of phrases connected with the several spheres of human activity and shows, as was to be expected, that the sea, seaman- 538

A /No such table of contents was published with this text - Analyst/

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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532. Eiki pea oi: Chief and striving.

The expression refers to a chief who, although he is a chief and able to enjoy his rank in safety and affluence, is not satisfied and sets on foot schemes by which he hopes to gain more. The upshot of his endeavors is the loss of what he had. Generally of a man who is not contented with the prosperity he has, will not leave well alone, and who through his discontented strivings comes off worse than he was before.

533. Hau ki nima: Lord to (by) hand.

Refers primarily to those chiefs who enjoyed great prestige not by right of birth but by right of conquest. Used generally of those who acquire privilege or status by violence.

534. Hau pea kui: King and blind.

Used of one who is a king but is regardless of the interests of his people. Especially it is employed of one who before his elevation to such high rank manifested good qualities that marked him as one fit for rule, but on succeeding to kingship changed to harshness and incapacity to win his people's affections. Not unlike Tacitus' "Fully capable of rule if he had never ruled."

535. Hongea moe houeiki: Enduring famine with the chiefs.

The chiefs were the great reservoirs into which flowed the food and wealth of the country; it was indeed tabu to eat the more valued kinds of food without first presenting the chiefs with their proper share. In times of scarcity the rank and file came off very badly but those who had the good fortune to be closely associated with the great chiefs were in the way of getting a share of whatever sustenance the country afforded. (Compare No. 544.)

536. Koe lau ia he koe tala ki he tui: That's talk. What, is it telling the king?

Used derisively by one man to another who threatens to report his conduct to a third person. Much like, "Pooh, what do I care if you do tell so-and-so? Is he the king that I should mind him?" (See No. 569.)

537. Lea hange ha Pelehake: Speak like a Pelehake.

The Pelehake is one of the great chiefly houses of Eastern Tongatabu. We have not discovered whether the Pelehake had any special connection with ceremonial or other speech or whether this proverb refers to the fact that the chiefs generally were the great repositories of information about correct and graceful language and ceremony. The phrase means to speak well, with well-modulated resonant voice and forceful, graceful diction.

538. Oku hiki mai pe ho mua vala ka koe Haafeva pe koe: The front of your *vala* is lifted but you are only a Haafeva man.

This refers to the chiefly *vala* or dress, called *vakai*, which consists of a very large piece of native cloth wrapped in several thicknesses round

125 Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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175 565 distinct from those of the lower and laborious classes, as the man of letters, or the polished courtier differs from the clown. The lower orders used terms 175 565 of a much meaner and coarser import: the higher orders were so much refined, as often, for amuse- 195 ment, to take off the vulgar by imitating their expressions and pronunciations. The family of Duatonga, if they spoke to any of the domestics, or visitors, would always be answered, "Ahee," "Yes Sire", but most others were answered with, "Cohou", Yes Sir; this latter term, if pronounced as it is spelt, would be a polite reply, but if spoken as if it was spelt Cohaa, it would be very vulgar, and signify our broad expression "What", and if spoken to a chief, the man would be struck down for his rudeness.

175 513 521 Their nocturnal conversations would continue till ten or eleven in the evening, till they all fell asleep. Their conversation and comparisons were sometimes so very droll and ludicrous, that I occasionally burst out into a fit of laughter which would make them say "Coe Kata geeaha Balo" What are you laughing at Balo? "Mannogge abai eyette ge mou touloo." "He is making game of us I suppose". They called me by the name of Balo.

If one chanced, during the night, to awake, he would renew the conversation with some neighbour that might happen to rouse, and then they would call to each other till they all awaked, and enjoy another hour's chat.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

similar conditions and have occasional intercourse with one another. Henceforward I devoted all my spare moments to the study of the language, particularly that form of it in use towards the chiefs, which may be called the language of respect: the mastery of such *nuances* gives the appearance of far greater facility than I was likely to acquire in the limited time at my disposal. Before I left Tonga the necessity for using the language in public, and for drafting the new code of law, had given me considerable fluency; and I was able to realise the vast superiority and richness of Polynesian as compared with Melanesian languages.

My two colleagues were in a state of the deepest dejection. They were inclined to be reticent, and told me that they could make no changes without consulting the king. I said that one change at least did not require the sanction of his Majesty—namely, that the members of the Cabinet should meet together periodically to agree upon a common policy, and that none of them should take any important action without consulting his colleagues. This, I explained, was the rule of action in every Cabinet in the world, and it was, moreover, provided for in the Tongan Constitution. They seemed much disturbed at this announcement, and Tukuaho replied that it was a new thing in Tonga, and that his colleagues would not understand it, but would say that he was arrogating to himself the powers of the king. He said that already the Habavea chiefs, Maafu and Lavaka, actuated by jealousy, were stirring up the people against him though he had as yet done nothing, and had said bitter things in public about being subject to his family: that Tungi,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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sistent misrepresentation of me as a champion of the Wesleyans had contributed to the popular suspicion. The manners of the average Tongan to a white man whom he dislikes and does not fear leave much to be desired. I found myself jostled off the road by men on horseback, and subjected to many other petty annoyances. All this had to be borne good-temperedly if my mission was to be successful; and I knew that in a few months I could succeed in changing the hostility and suspicion into friendliness.

My first task was to inspire the chiefs with confidence: the people would follow their lead all in good time. As soon, therefore, as we were installed in our new house, I invited Fatafehi, the king's grandson, to visit me. This chief enjoys a far higher degree of rank than his relationship to the sovereign would confer upon him, for he is a chief of the spiritual line; and now that the office of Tui Tonga has been abolished, and Christianity has removed the superstition by which the descendant of the Immortals was surrounded, he enjoys the highest consideration in the kingdom after the king. To him alone, besides the king, is used the peculiar language of respect by which the deity is addressed. Of the curious polity of Tonga before the introduction of Christianity I shall speak hereafter.

Although hedged by divinity, Fatafehi bears his honours with great ease and good-humour. He has a jolly round face, fringed with grizzled whiskers and moustache; and his kindly expression and burly figure give him the appearance of a gentleman farmer when times were good. He is, moreover, almost the only Tongan who, in dress clothes,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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645 airing himself outside, I poured the vials of my wrath, and asked what *telefua* meant.

"Having no covering—naked," he answered; "but why do you ask?"

"Because," I replied savagely, "since you did not stay to interpret for me as you promised, I have told the king that the New Guinea people go about naked, which is not true." Fatafehi laughed his hereditary laugh.

643 645 At ten o'clock we went down to meet the king in Council, followed by Mataka with his shorthand note-book and the Council minutes. As we went in the king took his place before a large Tongan Bible at the head of the table. Fatafehi and Tukuaho had moved to their seats, and I was on the point of taking mine when the king caught sight of me. My back was to the light and my face in shadow. He peered at me and said, "Who is this *papalagi* (foreigner) who comes to our Council?"

Tukuaho said, "It is he of whom I told your Majesty.[1] He who has come to help us, and make things plain."

"We have sent one foreigner away," said the king, "and you bring another: I thought that the Council was to be for ourselves."

This was a facer: without being in the Privy Council I should be utterly powerless, quite apart from the loss of prestige that such a rebuff would entail if it got abroad.

[192] [195] [774] [1] "*Hoo Afio*" is an exact equivalent for your Majesty, and the words are used in precisely the same connection. In former times they were addressed to the Tui Tonga only. In speaking of the king to a third person, "*Ene Afio*" (his Majesty) is said. Besides these words a number of special words for the verbs of sensation are used in speaking of, or to, the king or the Deity.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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walls, amid the plaudits of the audience. So a second choir filed in, and a third and fourth, until the church was filled to overflowing. It was in reality a choral competition between the different divisions of the town, the outcome of three weeks of practice under the direction of the composer. The native parson meanwhile took his stand in the pulpit, and gave out a text, which was sung with fine effect by the combined choirs to a tune of native composition. An inspiriting address followed, often interrupted by cries of applause. They were working up their enthusiasm for the real business of the evening.

After the sermon there was a long pause, during which the people looked furtively at one another. At last an old woman stood up, and the shouts of "*Fakafetai*" became deafening. "She is going to tell about her soul," whispered my neighbour. Upon this interesting subject she had a great deal to say in a monotonous flow of verbiage, drowned at times by the cries of "*Malo!*" I noticed, indeed, throughout the evening that the women had a far greater command of language than the men. Before she had finished, two middle-aged men and a very villanous-looking policeman were on their feet. The first to rise caught the parson's eye, and gave us a very long and weary diagnosis of his spiritual symptoms. The second elder was jaunty, and gently chaffed his soul, exciting bursts of merriment by screwing up his eyes at the laughing places. Three or four others had now risen, and remained standing in penitent attitudes until their turn came. The criminal-looking policeman had his say first. With forced

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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825 frequented some *Tou*-trees near to the sea, but the great battle fought there in May 1799 frightened them away, and they chose to emigrate to the large trees in the centre of the town. Ata told me that at sunset half go away to feed, while the others keep guard during their absence, but that they never fail to come back about midnight to take their turn of sentry-duty. Without vouching for this as a scientific fact, I can bear witness that they fly beyond Nukualofa, thirteen miles away, for hundreds of them were shot at nightfall as they flew in a continuous string towards the Government banana plantations near the lagoon. One thus brought down had a little one clinging to her body, befurred and bewinged, a perfect miniature of its mother. In a few days it became perfectly tame, and at night showed no inclination to leave the verandah where it hung in the daytime.

621 645 208 203 The *fono* was held opposite Ata's house. Only taxpayers were summoned, but they numbered several hundreds, and included a few women—widows—holding tax-allotments. They formed a compact semicircle, each bringing a cocoa-nut-leaf to sit upon. On the outside of the ring a few policemen, armed with thick batons, stood [195] erect in attitudes of stern attention. We, the authorities, sat in a row in the verandah and addressed the crowd in turn,—Tukuaho in mood of suave conditional, I in bald indicative, and Ata, their chief, in uncompromising im- [651] perative. Taxes,—we must have taxes, or—many terrible [651] things would happen. Tonga would lose her independence for one thing, and the police would come and sell by auction the property of defaulters for another. I am bound to confess that the latter threat appeared to be the more

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

From my conversations with the Tongans I am not quite sure where the votaries and the priests sat during consultation of a god, but think that the people would sit round at a respectable distance on the green sward in front of the temple, and the priests would sit either just within or without the doorway. Descriptions seem to point to some such arrangement as this, and it is rendered almost certain by its thorough agreement with universal custom in the paying of a ceremonial visit to an important chief. It is hardly necessary to add that all references to the gods were couched in the most deferential language, terms being employed which were applied to the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha alone amongst mortals, though used now of the constitutional king. Such words are naturally used to-day of the Deity in Christian worship.

Another common mark of deference in approaching a superior is the wearing of a mat about the waist, girt on with a cinnet-rope belt. This addition to the dress, called a *tavvala*, is universally worn at the *fono*, or assemblies where the people are gathered together to hear the will of their chiefs, or of the government, or when approaching a great chief, especially to ask a favour. It is also worn at funerals. Undoubtedly it was worn by the people approaching one of the ancient gods. A mark of still deeper humility is a wreath of the leaves of the *ifi* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Tahitian chestnut) round the neck. This badge of deference was used, for example, by supplicants suing for their lives. To sit with the head bowed, and these leaves round the neck, was the strongest possible expression of humility and entreaty. Whether it were a common adjunct or not of worship I do not know, but it would seem highly probable that it was employed at all events on occasions of great stress. Mariner describes it as being worn on a certain occasion in entering a temple, but in this instance the wearers were pleading for their lives to a great chief.

Naturally the gods varied in power and influence. Some were resorted to by the whole nation; others were the gods of powerful chiefs and their tribes and clans, whilst others enjoyed a more limited prestige, their devotees being the little group of allied households which forms the usual social unit. There was nothing to prevent a a man's setting up a tutelary deity of his own if he were so disposed. The number of the gods, moreover, was liable to constant augumentation by the deification of the illustrious or well-beloved dead. A notable instance is Fakailoatonga, a chief related to Finau, of Vavau. In his life-time Fakailoatonga was a famous warrior, and subdued, or at least over-ran, a large part of Tongatabu, "but he was a leper." For long he was ignorant of the nature of his malady, and his friends sedulously refrained from reference to it. But one day a companion told him the ghastly truth, and Fakailoatonga, in his disgust, buried himself alive. After his death he was elevated to the goddage. In the

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

merely a confession of my own ignorance. This list is not the fruit of systematic collection of words. It has been compiled more or less casually, and doubtless as much has been missed as is included.

Through the inspiration, and under the guidance, of Mr. A. R. Brown and the Hon. William Tungi, a committee was formed in 1918 to compile a dictionary, but, for various reasons, ceased to function after a few meetings. The need that a dictionary should include all forms in which a root is found will be readily appreciated by those who have noted the readiness with which consonants drop out in the Oceanic languages. There are, moreover, in Tongan, as in all languages, words which do not lie on the surface, some of which perhaps are obsolete or obsolescent, whilst others, though well known to the native, do not come within the ken of the foreigner even after years of use of the language. Until dictionaries are compiled including all words conclusions as to distribution of various streams of migration may rest upon insecure foundations insofar as philological evidence is relied upon.

There are words included in this list which are felt by the Tongans to be loan words, largely from Fiji; there are other words which by their form suggest borrowing from Fiji or Samoa, but are not felt as loan words by the present-day Tongan. Bards seem frequently to embellish their compositions with such evidences of foreign erudition. My purpose has been, not to settle all the difficulties which the dictionary-maker will meet, but to ensure that he will have at his disposal the small amount of material which I have collected, and to afford some slight assistance to anyone who may desire to read the Tongan poems and tales, and also to indicate the meanings of words which one may hear in conversation but not find in his dictionary.

In orthography I fear that I have not lessened the confusion that already exists. Two consonants have had especially harsh treatment in Tongan, *b* or *p*, and *s* or *j*. *B* and *p* are both used by Mariner who was in the group at the beginning of the 19th century, *b* alone is used by the English Methodist Mission, and *p* alone by the French Catholic Mission. Dr. Baker used both. The dictionary committee of 1918, which included representatives of the Government, and of the English and French mission bodies, decided, undoubtedly correctly, to employ but one symbol for

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

802 counter calls aloud: "One, two, three," and so on up to ten, when a second man rises, holding a staff, and calls: "One." Then the counter goes on with the second ten, "One, two, three," and so on till the second ten is completed, when the man with the staff calls: "Two." So it goes on, the first man counting the individuals in groups of ten, the second man keeping the tally of tens, till one hundred, ten tens, is reached, when the second man calls "One hundred," and a third man jumps up and calls "One." The second hundred is counted in the same way as the first by the same two men, and when it is completed the third man, who has been silent meanwhile, calls "Two." If the number be so great that the tenth hundred is completed, the third man, he who keeps the tally of hundreds, calls "One thousand," and a fourth man joins in, and says "One," and it will be his task to keep the tally of the thousands.

PROVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS.

128 Since the publication of *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* (Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, 1922) several other sayings have been collected, and are now added as supplementary to the previous collection.

539 1. *E taha ha lau, tagi ki he ba'a, tagi ki he fanua.* What a lot of talk, cry to be barren, cry to have children. Used of one whose 195 complaints and requests are incompatible, who is never satisfied, but 539 always wants something different. The saying is attributed to Maui Kisikisi, who, when his mother complained of his idleness, set to work digging so vigorously that he shook the whole island of Eua, whereupon his mother complained of the dangerous disturbance he was creating. Maui expressed his exasperation in this saying, and flung his digging-stick far from him. Where the digging-stick struck the earth it scooped out into a huge hole, and out through the cliff-face into the sea, making an archway through the solid rock, all of which the unbeliever may see for himself on the weather coast of Eua.

539 2. *'Oku 'ikai ke tuhu'i 'e ha taha 'ae umata.* One does not point 195 at the rainbow. To point at the rainbow causes a swelling of the [821] limb wherewith the pointing is done. Even to-day children are taught [753] by their parents not to point at the rainbow.

3. *'Oku lava 'aé Tu'i Toga.* The Tu'i Tonga is garbed ceremonially *(lava)*. This seems to indicate what is of so great importance that even the Tu'i Tonga takes note of it.

[825] 4. *Be kuo lulu mai mai be kuo kalae mai?* Does he come an owl or a rail? The meaning is: "Does he come full-handed or empty-handed?" it being held that when the owl comes he usually brings something with him, whereas the rail does not.

5. *Fakalogo ki kafa.* Obeying, judging by, cord. The idea is that of a vessel dropped down a deep well, attached to a cord. The drawer of water cannot see when the vessel is full, but judges by the feel of the cord when it has reached the water, and when it is full. Figuratively the expression indicates sounding, feeling about, for information of that which is uncertain, out of sight.

6. *Futa kaunahu.* Pride (through the) mat-edge. This is an expression from the game of *lafo*. The *kaunahu* is the raised edge, or

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 19. *Kuo vala 'ae fonua.* The land is clad, i.e., protected, not exposed to its enemies.

195 20. *Lelei 'ae fale kae kovi 'ae bou.* The house is good but the posts are bad. This indicates a person whose body is well-built, but whose legs are thin.

21. *Tau 'i tu'a fuga.* Reached land outside the anchorage. This is used of unsuccessful effort, as of a boat which has not been able to make the anchorage, but has had to come in wherever she could.

22. *Tau fegogo fai fua ki 'ulu.* Struggle leaning on, helping each other, direct the course ahead. This indicates persons struggling along, helping each other with an already great burden, but going on always to greater things.

23. *To'a-ki-kaume'a.* Brave-for-friend. Courage on behalf of a friend. In connection with this expression is told the devotion of the daughter of cannibal parents who sacrificed herself to save a girl friend.

PHASES OF THE MOON IN TONGA.

114 Some time ago I wrote a short paper containing all that I had then been able to gather concerning the naming of the days and 114 nights.* Since then a Tongan manuscript has come into my hands 127 with some fresh, and some confirmatory, material bearing on this [128] subject. I translate it for comparison with my earlier paper:—

821 *Matakila*, when the moon begins to appear, and is said to be seen by gods and only afterwards by men.

Faka-ua and so on to *Faka-valu*. There is no *Faka-hiva*, or higher number, but the moon is then called *Tu'u-efiafi*, risen at evening, or in the afternoon.

Bunifaga, when the moon is bigger than half.

Fuofuavale, almost full moon.

Katoa-to, full moon, but setting (before day-break?).

Fakatau-ata, setting after dawn *(ata)*.

Mama-loa, the moon sets just before sun-rise, and rays are seen both of the moon which has just disappeared, and of the sun which is about to appear.

Feahoaki, the moon has risen whilst it is still day, and is in the sky when the next day breaks.

Uluaki ahoia, the moon is still in the sky when the day breaks.

Tafaleu, when the flattening of one side of the moon's disc becomes apparent.

Ma'una, the moon is still in the sky when day has broken, but is past the full. This is a night that is noted by the bonito-fishers.

Matofitele, the waning of the moon is very apparent.

Lekeleka, the moon is very small.

Lekeleka mate, the moon has almost disappeared.

The writer adds a note that there are 14 names for the phases of the moon.

[113] * *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar* (Occasional Papers, B.P. Bishop Museum, Vol. 8, No. 4, Honolulu, 1922).

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

their grand-parents, and are, at all events in general, of superior social rank to them, yet they are not necessarily *fahu* to them.

Do the rights of the *mokopuna* and of the sister's son indicate a fusion of two social organizations?

There is also an expression *hako 'eiki*, which simply translated would mean chiefly descendants, but is defined by a Tongan informant as a descendant, *hako*, of a chief other than the one to whom his "body rightly is related," which apparently means a person closely related to one noble house, but having in his veins the blood of some other noble family.[6]

Foreigners, being exempt from the *tapu* binding on the native, may eat the *fono;* but when the descendant of a foreigner has much Tongan plebeian blood claims based on foreignness are disallowed. At a *kava* party of Ata's some women were sitting in the *afofi*, and were ordered to move. One, however, who said she was a Samoan, was allowed to stay, and sat throughout the ceremony with one hand resting on the ground, which would not have been permitted to a Tongan woman or man.

Should there happen to be no *kai fono* in the assembly the chief may call anyone to come and take the *fono*. After the chief's *fono* has been taken no difficulty is felt about the others. The *matapule* may tell the man who is taking away the chief's to take all; he may take all together, or may take the chief's first and then return for the remainder. There is no formality here; it is merely a matter of convenience.

The time occupied with the *fono* is that for certain speeches to be made by the *matapule*, mainly of a congratulatory sort. There are certain stereotyped phrases of compliment, e.g., *kei tu'u pe 'ae la'a*, the sun is still in its place, i.e., the king is still well. A very interesting feature of these ceremonial addresses is the introductory

[6] *How'eiki matua*, noble parents, are chiefs who have become the progenitors of other titled houses, i.e., in addition to their original title which has continued in the direct line, at some point in their history another line and title have branched off from them.

Kai fonua, eating the land. Ata and Vaea are *kai fonua;* first-fruits were taken to them, and they ordered fruits of the land to be taken to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There were no *kai fonua* chiefs among the Tu'i Tonga chiefs. *(Anga faka-kai-fonua* is said to be an abusive term.)

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 574 537 195 576 643 *fakataputapu*, an invocation of all those who might be displeased at the effrontery of one's speaking in so august an assemblage. The following is the full formula with which a speech should be begun on a ceremonial occasion before the Tu'i Kanokupolu: Tapu mo Mo'unga Motu'a (the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua), tapu mo Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga (the son of Mo'unga Motu'a), tapu mo Ha'a Moheofo (the Tu'i Kanokupolu and his chiefs), tapu mo Ha'a Latuhifo (Niukapu and Nuku), tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu (who seem to be the descendants of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ma'afu-'aetu'i-tonga), tapu mo Ha'a Vaea (Luani and his family), Pea tapu moe kano 'oe loto'a oe Hau 'aia ko Ha'a-teiho mo Lakepa mo Hoi mo Afitu (And *tapu moe* pith—flesh, heart, centre—of the compound of the King, namely Ha'a-teiho and Lakepa and Hoi and Afitu); pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngata motu'a, pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngata tupu, pea tapu mo Ha'a Havea, pea tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha (old names of Motu'apuaka and Lauaki), pea tapu moe tangata 'o Tu'i Tonga 'oku fio he alofi 'oe Hau (and *tapu moe* Tu'i Tonga's man who mingles in the circle of the King), pea tapu moe Fale Fisi, pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Ngana (two houses of the Fale Fisi), pea tapu mo Sina'e ki mu'a (a house connected with the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu mo Sina'e ki mui (a house connected with the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu mo ha'a fokololo 'oe Hau (and *tapu mo* servants (?) of the King), pea tapu moe alofi moe alofi (that is, both sides of the *alofi*), pea tapu moe fasi tapu moe fasi tapu (that is, the *fasi tapu* on either side), pea tapu moe toua 'eiki na, pea ka ai ha lea e mahehei kuo 'osi eku fakatapu kae ata keu lea (and *tapu moe* yon noble *toua*, and if there be a word that goes astray my *fakatapu* is finished and I am free to speak).

The corresponding formula for an assembly of the Tu'i Tonga is: Pea tapu moe 'Afio 'o Langi (And *tapu moe* Majesty of Heaven, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu moe Tu'i Kelekele (the Tu'i Pelehake, a classificatory brother of the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu moe Tu'i Kakai (King of the People, i.e., the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua), pea tapu moe Toua Hili[1] (the Tamaha), pea tapu moe Toua Ato (said to be

[1] *Toua hili* might mean behind the *toua*. Note that in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava* ring Tungi, who is descendant of a woman has a special place behind the *toua*. I have learnt nothing about the position of the Tamaha in the Tu'i Tonga's circle, but the Tamaha is also descendant of a woman, being the child of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

those whose mothers are noble on the side of the Hau, Tu'i Kanokupolu, and fathers are noble in the Tu'i Tonga family), pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mu'a (Tafolo, and perhaps Tamale), pea tapu moe Sina'e 'eiki, pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mui (perhaps Tamale, or Manumua and Lomu), pea tapu moe Tu'i Hoi, pea tapu mo (moe) Faoa Manafa. Koe ngata e tala 'o Fanakava kae ata kae fai hano tala (The end of the telling of Fanakava and it is clear to make its speech).

Before the *kava* is distributed the presentations of food and *kava* are taken outside the ring. Motu'apuaka will probably order them to be taken for Lauaki, who will superintend their distribution, either personally or by a deputy. If there be a chief present whom it is desired to honour, for example a visitor, Motu'apuaka may order that these presentations be taken for his *matapule;* or Lauaki, in making the actual distribution, will see that he gets a large share. In such distributions the chiefs for whom portions *(inasi)* are designed are not named, but their *matapule*, and the *matapule* express thanks for the gifts. Visiting chiefs thus honoured will be expected to provide a good reception when, later on, they are visited in their own homes.

It will be recalled that three men are seated at the *kava*-bowl, one at either side, and one behind facing the king. The man on the side, in a line with the *matapule* who is directing operations says, when the straining is finished, *Kuo ma'a 'ae kava ni,* This *kava* is clear. The *matapule* responds *Tokonaki 'o fakatau,* Make ready and deal out. Then the cups, which have been in making whilst the *kava* was being brewed are brought.[9]

Of the two men seated at the side of the bowl one "calls," that is, calls out as each cup is filled; and the other removes the little pieces of *kava* that adhere about the rim of the bowl, usually employing a small piece of coconut-leaf

[9] Fanakava, so far as one can get information about it from living Tongans, is remembered mostly as a sanctuary. It is a very sacred part of the Tu'i Tonga's ground in Mu'a.

[10] Although cups of coconut-shell are used on lesser occasions the cups used at great ceremonies are of folded plantain leaf. The coconut-shell cups of Niua Fo'ou differ from those of other parts of the Tongan Group in having a hole near the edge through which is threaded a cord of twisted hibiscus fibre, to serve as a hanger.

30: Colliocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE TUI TONGA

The Tui Tonga when travelling was frequently borne on a litter, 643
though land on which he stood, or houses into which he entered, did [493]
not become tabu and therefore unavailable to their former possessors
or users. Mats and cloth which he used seem not to have returned
to their former owners, but to have become the property of the Tui
Tonga. Such articles he seems frequently to have passed over to his [644]
retinue. The tabus surrounding the Tui Tonga's person were of
course strict. The London Missionary Society's missionaries who 643
arrived in the *Duff* in 1797 relate that the Tui Tonga going into their 302
house in western Tongatabu requested that they shave him. This [778]
ceremony of the toilette was performed, but until everything was
safely finished the natives about were in the greatest trepidation lest
some of the sacred hair should fall to the ground. The operation of 643
supercision could not be performed in Tonga on the Tui Tonga. He 304
had either to go without the operation or visit Samoa or Fiji for the
purpose.

CEREMONIOUS SPEECH

An interesting example of the tabu surrounding the great chiefs 565
is seen in the opening of ceremonial speeches in their presence. The 537
speaker clears away, group by group, the tabus that would prevent 195
his speaking. He says "Tabu for such a one," using an expression 784
which it is exceedingly difficult to render into English, but whose
real significance seems to be, "With all due regard to the tabu of
So-and-so." This introductory apology having been completed the
speaker will say, "It is now permissible for me to go on with my
speech." There are two important sets of these tabu formulae, one [643]
for the Tui Tonga chiefs and the other for the Tui Kanokubolu, but
naturally enough the practice of thus prefacing a speech is widely
extended. In sermons, ordinary addresses, and in conversation, any-
thing which the speaker feels should be introduced "saving the pres-
ence of" his auditors will be introduced with this apologetic preface.
Especially is this the case when mentioning bodily infirmities to a 784
person of superior rank. A commoner would scarcely mention at all 576
a physical defect of a chief to whom he was speaking, at any rate 753
without the license of intimately friendly conversation, but in men- 521
565

643 taboos were connected with his position. Because no
644 one was allowed to touch his food or body, he was
784 often carried about on a litter, and ceremonies of obeisance were performed towards him (e.g. *moimoi*, wherein the subject knelt down and placed the soles of the chief's feet on the subject's head, figuratively showing in humility and respect that he
643 was beneath the monarch). Some of the things
[304] which were peculiar to the *Tu'i Tonga* included the
[195] fact that he was neither tattooed nor circumcised as
[412] others were, he was referred to or spoken to with a
[301] special vocabulary, he ate the meat of green
[302] coconuts with a distinctive implement (a freshly cut stick from the *toi* tree), he wore a unique type of flower garland called the *lala heilala*, and his hair was trimmed by being singed with a hot coal.[8]

[644] To prevent contamination of the royal line with

[p. 28-B]

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

looked upon as a god. This would account for such gods as Tu'i Lalotonga, Tu'i 'Ahau, Taliai Tubou, and others. All the inquiries of the present writer negative the assertion that the spirits of chiefs as a general thing became gods. We may then look upon the gods of the first class as primitive, brought by the Tongans from their original home, and the third class as the gods of the aboriginals whom they conquered. The second class contained also some primitive gods, but was recruited largely from the spirits of ancestors—*i.e.* the spirits of certain deceased chiefs by whom kings and notable personages fancied themselves to have been possessed.

The other point the present writer made special inquiries about was whether the Tongans worshipped the clubs, whales' teeth, animals, trees, stones, etc., before which they placed their offerings, or the god who was supposed to be temporarily residing in them. The answer was decisive. The clubs, trees, etc., were simply the *vaka*, the god itself was spiritual. *Vaka* signifies a 'mode of conveyance,' usually a canoe, but also a carriage, or anything by which one is conveyed from place to place.

Probably we may see here a development of their spiritual ideas. The oldest class—Tangaloa, Maui, Hemoana—were undoubtedly corporeal. Their bodies performed all the functions of human bodies, and they were inflamed with human passions. But the Tongans had long ceased to pray to them, and scarcely any vestiges of their worship remained when the missionaries came. The third class of gods, too, were corporeal, but there are no signs of worship being paid them at any time. These two classes existed side by side; but long before the introduction of Christianity both had been discarded as objects of worship, which was paid only to the second class. In other words, the Tongans had worked out a theology, which had, at any rate, this noble feature in it, that God was a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit.

The general Tongan term for supernatural beings is *fa'ahikeke*. This is often shortened into *fa'ahi*, and when the adjective *lahi* ('great') is added—*fa'ahi lahi*—the idea conveyed is that of full deity. *Fa'ahi* signifies properly 'a party,' 'a side' (as in cricket); or it may be short for *fa'ahinga* = 'kind,' 'class,' 'race,' 'species,' 'genus.' *Keke* = 'other' (*ἕτερος*, not *ἄλλος*), so *fa'ahikeke* is 'different folk,' 'other kind of people.' The usual word for 'God' is *'Otua*. Mariner spells it *Hotooa*, but there is no *h* in it. The inverted comma represents a guttural, a half *k*, which is one of the difficulties of the language. It is not readily recognized by the European ear, and is mostly neglected by foreigners, while being as intractable as the Ayin in Hebrew. The present writer has failed to find any derivation for *'Otua*, or meaning other than 'God,' and believes it to be a primitive Polynesian word. In some parts of the Pacific it appears as *Atua*.

The other great word is *'Eiki* = 'Lord,' which is used as in English for both earthly and heavenly lords. Hence it is not so high a term as *'Otua*. Indeed it seems sometimes to mean only 'supernatural.' Thus a corpse is called *ha mate'a faka'eiki*, which apparently signifies 'a thing belonging to the spirit world.' Probably Mariner was thinking of this when he said (vol. ii. p. 130): 'The human soul after its separation from the body is termed *hotooa*, *i.e.* a god or spirit.' He is certainly wrong in that statement. It is clear that *'eiki* was not the original form of the word, which the laws of the language point out to have been *ikeiki*.

We must not pass over the fact that the members of one of the dynasties of kings were regarded as gods. This was the earliest line of kings, and their title was *Tu'i Tonga* ('King of Tonga'). They were certainly looked upon as in some sense divine beings; and instances are on record of prayers being offered to them. Words applied only to the gods were used in addressing them; such as *'Ei*, already referred to, *ha'ele*, and *'afio*, used of the movements of deity. The face of the Tu'i Tonga was termed the 'sky,' and to him, as the representative of the gods, were presented the 'first-fruits.' This ceremony, called the *'inasi*, or 'portion,' is described by Mariner (vol. ii. p. 196). When a Tu'i Tonga died, he was said to be 'missing' (*kala*), and he was buried in a *ziggurat*, or pyramid

[p. 377-B]

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 of steps. This was called a *langi*, or 'heaven'; and
195 many of them remain in tolerable preservation, and
764 excite the wonder of the visitor by the huge size of many of the stones, some of which measure over 20 ft. in length.

173 Many, probably most, of the names of the Tu'i
643 Tonga have been preserved, and their history curiously reminds us of the story of the Carlovingians and Merovingians in France. One of the Tu'i Tonga, called Takalaua, was murdered, and his son and successor Kau'ulufonuafekai, from weariness or fear, devolved the duties of government on his younger brother, reserving to himself the honours and emoluments of the office. His brother assumed the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua ('King of the Takalauans'), and soon got all the power into his hands, the Tu'i Tonga becoming a *roi fainéant*. After a few generations, however, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua became effete, and the government was handed over to another branch, called the Tu'i Kanokubolu ('King of Kanokubolu,' the town in which he lived). This
643 is the title of the present dynasty. Representatives of the other two lines, however, still exist,
[195] but the titles are not used. The representative, however, of the Tu'i Tonga holds even now a quasi-sacred position, and is still addressed as the gods used to be; and words sacred to deity are used for all his movements.

114 Mariner mentions another semi-divine person called the Veachi (vol. ii. p. 80). This part of his narrative is very perplexing, as neither Veeson nor Thomas nor any of the modern chiefs knows anything about him.

192 The word used all over Polynesia for 'religion,' 'worship,' 'prayer,' etc., is *lotu*. Fortunately this has a meaning in Tongan, and signifies 'a seeking for something that is hard to find.' Thus when famine prevails, the people *lotu kai*, i.e. go all over the land looking for food. It is also used for the restlessness of a caged animal seeking an outlet, and for the cry of an animal for its mate or
192 companions. This is not the only word common to Polynesia which finds its meaning in Tongan.
197 *Tabu* (or *taboo*), now of world-wide use, signifies in Tongan that something which might be opened is closed. These and other considerations lead one to think that the Tongan language comes nearer than most of the dialects to the original Polynesian tongue.

782 3. The religious rites of the Tongans were few. There was nothing in their religion corresponding to our idea of worship. If they wanted something
782 —rain, fair winds, good crops, successful fishery—or if they wished to prevent some calamity—such
789 as sickness, death, hurricanes, war—they would seek the favour of a god, would offer sacrifice and pray. But to come into his temple, to worship, to sing his praises, to dwell upon his attributes—this
771 was a foreign idea altogether. Hence there was very little in the Tongan religion to cultivate the
181 conscience, or to control the passions, or to elevate the thoughts. Mariner thinks otherwise, and we would gladly believe his favourable report of the
181 Tongan character. But all our information—and
114 much of it goes back to Mariner's time—contradicts his statements. He even contradicts himself. The Feenow he speaks so highly of was a monster of iniquity; and there is no doubt that for centuries theft, murder, lust, treachery, and almost everything in the catalogue of evil, have been rife in Tonga. No man's life or property, and no woman's honour, was safe for a day.

782 They never went to their gods empty-handed; a
[793] piece of kava root for making the native drink was a *sine qua non*. Baskets of food, too, were usually brought in addition, and presented to the god or his priest. One of the party would then state the object of their visit, and implore the deity to grant their request, or use his influence with the gods of

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren. The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an outstanding feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase. They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used. When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversation about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*. The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting, one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take care of her.

Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece

Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*, the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

Fakafotu have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

53; Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

in other cases, it does not. Class distinctions and hierarchy are formally marked in Tongan villages in interactions between village residents, commoner or otherwise, and the actual persons holding noble-titles, whether they are full-time residents of their respective villages or not.

Informants in 'Uiha described the remarkable change in behavior that occurred after the eldest son of the previous noble succeeded to the title. Before assuming the title, the designated heir to the title joined in village activities with commoners such as recreational *fai kava* and work groups without formal recognition of his potential status. Having assumed the title, the same individual was, and is now, treated with highly explicit deference behavior (e.g., bowing when greeting him, using a special vocabulary still surviving in the Tongan language and used only in conversing with nobles) by all those who formerly associated with him in a far more equal and informal manner. In 'Uiha, there appeared to be no striking, or even, subtle, class distinctions in observed interactions between commoners and the siblings and *matāpules* of the present title-holder. On the other hand, the reputation of the present government District Officer, a 'Uiha commoner with a strong and long-standing friendship tie with the present title-holder, was greatly enhanced, although no special deference behavior was displayed toward him.

This process of sudden and formal isolation of an incumbent title-holder, marking the formation of distinctions in the class system, reveals an important dimension of social relations in Tongan villages. The elaborate marking of rank in the class system, viewed from a societal perspective, is contrasted by the prevalence of what Turner would call 'normative communitas' (Turner, 1969, p. 132) or essentially an egalitarian ethic derived from ideas about common kinship and historical origins, shared among people living together in a traditional *fonua*. In some sense, all people living in the same community are equal because they share the same *fonua* identification, regardless of class affiliations. Although *fonua* identification is primarily a territorial concept, it is still conceived by Tongans in terms of a kinship idiom.

Informants in 'Uiha described a general kinship ideology in which all residents of a particular community were considerd one *kāinga*, often expressed as the *kāinga fakafonua* (the 'home kindred' or 'community as kindred') or as a particular noble's *kāinga* (referring to his 'people' in general, or to the *fonua* from which he originates). The usage of this idiom is more than metaphorical, since informants explained to me that if they desired, they could in fact trace their blood or affinal relationship, no matter how distant, to any other member of the community. Practi-

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

Rank in Tonga[1]

Adrienne L. Kaeppler
Bernice P. Bishop Museum

The Tongan archipelago lies in the South Pacific approximately between 18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of Fiji and southwest of Samoa. The 269 square miles are divided among some 150 islands, many of which are uninhabited. The population in 1967 was more than 78,000. Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with Fijians, with whom, both traditionally and at the present time, there is much social intercourse. Many Tongan genealogies include one or more Fijians, and these people are more highly admired than Samoans, who are closer to Tongans in both physical type and culture. A well known example is the late Queen Sālote's half-brother, who is the son of her father, Tupou II, and a high-ranking Fijian woman.

Tongans have their own language, derived from a proto-language which seems to have been one of the first groups to appear in the differentiation of the Polynesian language family. The Tongan language has its closest similarities with Uvean and Niuean, and somewhat lesser ones with Samoan and Fijian (Green 1966: 13). Highly developed in Tongan is a language of respect, in which words reflect societal ranking. Thus for the same meanings, when speaking to the king one uses different words from those used when speaking to chiefs, and still other words are used in speaking to commoners. Thus "go" is *hā'ele* when referring to the King, *me'a* to chiefs, *'alu* to commoners, and *lele*, the ordinary word for "run," is used when speaking of oneself to persons of higher rank. Integrally related to the language of respect is speechmaking. Ceremonial attendants (*matāpule*) are the traditional speechmakers and are of necessity well versed in the language of respect.

The most pervasive concept in Tongan culture is that of hierarchical ranking. All interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed by principles of rank, and material culture and language reflect this ranking.[2] The purpose of this essay is to delineate how categories of people are ranked, the principles on which rank and status are based, and the relationships between the various kinds of ranking. The focus is ethnographic, and an attempt will be made to describe organizing principles important to the Tongans in ordering their social relationships.

In order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a small kin group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within the society as a whole. Social status, which is based upon traceable consanguineal

60: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) OU9 Tonga OU9

	33	*'Ae lou tāngia mo kokī*	And the "leaves' high-pitched cry"
	34	*Pea moe kapakau tatangi*	And the "winged whirring" [sound made by wings]
	35	*Kau ai ngulungulu mo tokoto*	And also "grunt and lie down"
	36	*Moe vahe taumafa 'oe fono.*	And the distribution of the *fono* [food served with *kava*].
VIII.	37	*Pea toki 'ilo ai e koloa*	And then the treasure was known,
	38	*Koe kanokato e tala 'o Tonga*	The essence of Tongan traditions;
	39	*Talu ai pē hono fakaili*	It has ever since been preserved
	40	*Koe fakama'u 'o Hou'eiki.*	As the binding force of the chiefs.
IX.	41	*'Oku 'ilo eha taha kuo anga*	It is known only by a person of experience,
	42	*'Ae ola 'o Tangoipomana*	The result of Tangoipomana.
	43	*Pahia 'oho he vaha mohe*	Worn out by overnight sailing provisions—
	44	*He kalia na'e tau ki 'One*	The vessel that landed at 'One,
	45	*Faka lele kihe Makahokovalu*	Run to the Makahokovalu.
	46	*Paki mangamanga 'i he Siangahu.*	Break off the forked branch at Siangahu.
X.	47	*'Ika moana si'ene fotu*	The emerging of the deep-sea fish
	48	*Fakahakehake i Fonuamotu*	Started up from Fonuamotu,
	49	*Lolongo ma'anu 'i Hakau-tapu*	Silently floated at Hakau-tapu,
	50	*No'o 'i Havelu moe koka tapu*	Tied at Havelu to the sacred *koka* tree.
	51	*Koe ola e 'oku ou lau*	This is the outcome of which I speak
	52	*Fai'anga ia 'oe fetau*	And the reason for my witty speech.
	53	*Tau tui falahola 'ene hopo*	Let us string the mature *falahola.*
	54	*He kuo kakai e vaha'akolo.*	There are many people at *vaha'akolo.*

The first stanza of the *lakalaka* announces the subject of the poetry—the exhuming of the shell of Sangone—and tells us that this accomplishment was so important that there were supernatural occurrences in the form of strong winds, lightning, and thunder.

Stanza 2 is a variation on the stylized opening called the *fakatapu*, which is used in any Tongan speech. This is used in a way similar to the Western custom of addressing the chairman and the ladies and gentlemen of the audience. The Tongan version, however, recognizes the sovereign and the chiefs and, in effect, asks their permission to speak. As this poetry was composed by the Queen and there is no one higher than she to defer to, no elaborate *fakatapu* is necessary. A *fakatapu* during a feast should start by telling the people to go on eating while the speech is given; in keeping with Sangone's story, this *fakatapu* begins by telling Lafaipana to go on with his sleep while the dance performance is given. The *fakatapu* ends by saying explicitly that this performance is to please the Throne.

161 taken at the end of 1966, are not yet published, but it was anticipated that the number would reach 70,000. The last published figures are from 1956 (Tupouniua 1958) at which time the total population was [162] 56,838. Of this number 55,156 declared themselves to be Tongan, 277 European, 604 part European, and 801 others (mostly other Pacific Islanders).

144 Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with Fijian, with whom both today and traditionally, there is much social intercourse. In many genealogies there are one or more Fijians, and they are more highly admired than Samoans who are much closer to 644 Tongans in physical type. The late Queen Salote's half-brother is 582 the son of her father, Tupou II, and a Fijian woman. The social 609 system of Tonga, based on a hierarchical ranking of persons, creates a category of people with no one of equal rank to marry. In the past this was often remedied by marriage with Fijians creating a societal division called Ha'a Fale-Fisi.

197 Tongans have their own language which seems to have been the first to split from the proto-Polynesian language family. The Tongan language has its closest similarities with Uvean and Niuean and 195 broader similarities with Samoan and Fijian. Highly developed in 565 Tongan is a language of respect in which words correspond to the three societal levels. Thus when speaking to the King different words are used than when speaking to chiefs, and still different words when speaking to commoners. Thus 'go' is hā'ele for the King, me'a for

195 565 chiefs, 'alu for commoners and lolo, a derogatory word, when speaking of oneself to persons of higher rank. Integrally related with the 537 language of respect is speech making. The matāpule, ceremonial 195 attendants, are the traditional speech makers and are of necessity [565] well versed in the language of respect. Speeches are the most important element on all formal occasions--and formal speeches have a definite structure. The structure is in three parts, 1) fakataputu, 2) body of the speech, and 3) tatau. The fakataputu is usually couched in stylized phraseology and in effect acknowledges the presence of important people and asks their permission to speak. The body of the speech usually alludes to the occasion by figurative and metaphorical language. The tatau is a concluding expression of thanks and often acknowledges again the presence of the important people. Speeches are linguistically subtle and sophisticated, and often by allusion and the use of homophones make it possible to say one thing and refer to something quite different. The structure and language of speeches corresponds to the poetry of certain dance types, which will be elaborated in Chapter VII.A

SOCIAL SYSTEM

128 Only a few observations will be made here in regard to the social system. In addition to suggesting how Tongans order their interpersonal relations, these observations have been selected because they are necessary to understand the formation of dancers in certain dance 554 types. The main idea to be presented is that the Tongan social system

A [See category 116, pp. 241 ff.--Analyst]

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

supreme sanctity and giving his dynasty pre-eminence. Referring to the Tu'i Tonga, Williamson (1924, I:151) quoted Monfat, who used the records of the early Roman Catholic missionaries in Tonga, as saying:

> In them the civil and political power is exalted and sanctified by the divine power; wherefore their authority is boundless. They dispose of the goods, the bodies, and the consciences of their subjects, without ceremony and without rendering account to anyone. *Tuitonga* appears, and all prostrate themselves and kiss his feet . . . The Tongans refuse him nothing, exceeding his desires. If he wishes to satisfy his anger or some cruel fancy, he sends a messenger to his victim who, far from fleeing, goes to meet death. You will see fathers tie the rope round the necks of their children, whose death is demanded to prolong the life of this divinity; more than once you will see the child smile as it is being killed.

Cook (1809, V:428) reported that if the Tu'i Tonga entered a house belonging to a subject it became *tapu* and could never be inhabited by its owners, so there were houses specially built for his reception when travelling. There was even a special 'language' to be used by those of lesser rank when they addressed or talked about the Tu'i Tonga, and similarly a language of respect was used in addressing or talking about other chiefs.

The Tu'i Tonga was both the temporal and spiritual ruler, at least until the fifteenth century. While Tonga was occupied by a fairly small population, the combining of spiritual and temporal authority in the office of Tu'i Tonga appears to have worked adequately for a time. However, a succession of murders of the Tu'i Tonga during the fifteenth century led the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua Fekai, to create the new office of *hau*[1] (temporal ruler) to take over secular responsibilities while the Tu'i Tonga became *'eiki Toputapu* (sacred ruler). The new position of *hau* was given to one of Kau'ulufonua Fekai's brothers, Mo-'ungamotu'a, who founded a dynasty under the title, Tu'i Ha'ataka-

[1] The term *hau* is related to the Fijian terms *sau* meaning 'prosperity, high chief, king', and *sauturaga* or 'noble king'; Capell and Lester (1946:299) conclude that the title *sau* (or *hau*) 'is shared between Fiji, Rotuma, Samoa and Tonga, with possibly an earlier stratum in Tahiti and Hawaii'. The date 1470 for the first *hau* dynasty is cited by Gifford (1929:83), Collocott (1924:179) and Wood (1932:11).